/123 cont./

162 Agosto. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Carlota (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakairi language, but with Captain Mário, who did nothing but nod concernedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

348 The largest house, which Captain Caetano and Felipe oc-
124 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of burití /see the glossary, p. 174 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with burití leaves.
(348) There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de parica). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de parica, the two longitudinal beams guaranã. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, pacu, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and barato baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
123 man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
(359) face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beiju?
(353) [Cf. glossary on p. 190 --Analyst]

2. Steinen--81 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Backes SP7 Uruta SP.8 Mehinaku

/102 cont./

been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds; a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied. Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and beiju, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck, on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

2: Steinen--1656 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/178 cont./

#171 824 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to [159] peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [411] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's [illegible]nity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of [illegible]raphy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/188 cont./

#171 304 decorative scars are altogether absent, which agrees with a statement by Joest, that they are confined to the dark peoples. So that boys will develop a sure eye and a strong arm for shooting, the face and upper arm are treated with the scarifier. I saw it #171 ● 757 used with very good results in the case of a bad swelling of the foot. The procedure is pure Baunscheidtism /a method of healing by acupuncture/ and is expressly represented as a medical one. It is clear that in many cases relief is actually obtained by a lessening of pressure and inflammation. It is no less clear how people hit upon it, for in the case of insect bites, everyone scratches until there is bleeding and the pain or itching stops, and one also tries to let out anything harmful that has penetrated the skin. Finally, it is not mysterious why people rub them-

[304]

Fig. 15.
Scarifier.

selves with soot or earth; again they do not wish to adorn themselves, but to increase or alleviate, according to need, the irritation and stop the blood. Bleeding was also checked with ashes.

#171 304 Thus the native has now arrived at tattooing, without inventing it. I often observed colored scratch-lines in the skin as a regular, albeit unintentional tattooing among tribes who did not /189/ concern themselves with this art at all. One may not speak of accident, however, since the habit of medicinal scarification of necessity called forth the secondary experience of coloring. Purposeful application is a matter of subsequent notions. Tattooing also becomes an artificial method and a distinguishing aid which is put on the skin where clothing is not present. Nothing is more natural than that tattooing decreases as clothing appears and easier ways to the same ends are opened up. Felipe, the docile Bakairí /Bacairi/ from the Paranatinga village, lieutenant of the Brazilian militia and owner of a

/210 cont./

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[199]

Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical

*171 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the
276 culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the
● 759 north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the
993 Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the
*171 Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú
249 and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was
[248] valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it
[302] completely because watering it made too much work. The surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and
241 mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence
174 of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to
241 whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

n² [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

2. Mennen--469 6,D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 Mº Bacairi 377

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8672, on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

195 [199] [164] The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from [159] measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

193 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 193 131 169 361 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *palão*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *palão* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the wadrina vine. The *palão* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had worn on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *palão* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *dpa;* sweet manioc, *taiu;*

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid 736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain 737 evil spirits—for instance, *enahpiye*, who caused 738 death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*piaipi*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period [P 76] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would ● [P 77] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the 744 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be 745 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit [P 78] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to [P 79] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *enini* or *kenapive*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

746 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-747 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing 748 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-749 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pewiwe* tuber, and *tawipi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For [P 80] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwanatini* plant was [P 81] used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutsiwe* plant and by mixing *piqui* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiepawali*. The ball (*tsie*) [P 82] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was